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On The Way To See The Man / *Gary Stallings*

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/ *Edgar Chasteen*

Why The St. Louis Bus Boycott Collapsed

/ *Charles L. Klotzer*

Paul Douglas For Senator?

*For / Irving Dilliard Against / Harry Barnard*

New Hope For St. Louis County Schools

/ *Fred W. Lindecke*

# OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

"Outlook 1966: Business continues at a record level and well ahead of the 1965 period. Present view is that this trend will continue assuming, of course, that the Vietnam situation will not be resolved soon. . . . and that higher taxes will not be enacted. Outlook 1967: Economy expected to continue climbing but at a little lesser rate due to higher costs and shortages of manpower and materials. This outlook is based on the assumption that the Vietnam situation remains unsolved. . . ."

From *Missouri Economic Review*, Missouri State Division of Commerce and Industrial Development

The Illinois Department of Public Aid has disclosed that many Illinois school administrators refuse to give free lunches to needy children. In Illinois only three per cent of the meals served were free, while the national average is ten per cent. In some schools children receiving free meals are forced to work in the cafeteria on various assignments. Many schools withhold grades or diplomas when book rental fees are not paid.

The Missouri Division of Commerce and Industrial Development has been running an advertisement in national magazines which reads: "Missouri is proud to be Last. Missouri has the lowest rate in the nation, in the state and local tax revenue per \$1000 personal income. Other tax rates are comparatively low." This message and its implied inability to provide essential services is supposed to attract new business.

St. Louis plainclothesman entered a St. Louis book store, the House of Publications, picked up a book and began reading it aloud, reports the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. When the proprietor told the plainclothesman, a vice squad officer, "I don't like your attitude. Don't read the books out loud. The book is up for sale. You might offend some of my customers," he was arrested for selling obscene literature.

On May 27 the Associated Press reported that The Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, "ended 20 years of church-enforced silence yesterday" when he appeared at a press conference. Actually, Bernard Eisman interviewed Rev. Coughlin three years ago and his verbatim report, "Reflections of a Radio Priest," was published in *FOCUS/Midwest* in February 1963.

". . . The official dedication of the brand new, multi-million dollar (St. Louis) stadium . . . was indeed a glorious moment and will long be recalled as a memorable phase in the continuing drive to revitalize Downtown St. Louis . . . (but) what ever happened to the many, many Negro dignitaries who reside in the St. Louis area? Why were these bonafide leaders, who have contributed so much to the revitalization of not only Downtown, but all of St. Louis — so thoroughly ignored . . . ?"

From the *St. Louis Argus*

Three thousand veterans of the Nazi SS elite guard attended a graveside rally in Germany at the funeral of the former SS Col. Gen. Sepp Dietrich, one-time commander of Adolf Hitler's bodyguard division. In the same week cigars appeared with Adolf Hitler's name and picture on the labels—as a sales inducement, according to the manufacturers.

For the first time in the history of Egypt, government stores are overflowing with chickens, the semi-official *Al Ahram* reports. The sudden abundance is due to a rumor propagated by private butchers that "chickens sold in government stores have been treated to cause impotence." The originators of this novel piece of consumer enlightenment explain that as Egyptian wives have refused to use contraceptives, the government has decided to alleviate the birth control problem through its male population.

From *ZINS Weekly News Bulletin*

## CREDITS

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Photos on pages 18 compliments of the  
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**FOCUS/Midwest**, Volume 4, Number 11 and 12. Second class postage paid at St. Louis, Mo. Published bi-monthly by FOCUS/Midwest Publishing Co., Inc. Subscription rates: \$6 11 issues (one year); \$11 22 issues (two years); \$15 33 issues (three years); \$23 five years, \$100 lifetime. Foreign \$1.50 per year extra. Allow one month for address changes. Advertising rates upon request. Enclose stamped, self-addressed envelope with manuscript. Nov. - Dec., 1965 Copyright © 1966 by FOCUS/Midwest Publishing Company, Inc. Please mail subscriptions and manuscripts to P.O.B. 3086, St. Louis, Mo. 63130; other correspondence to 884 Berick Dr., St. Louis, Mo. 63132.

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## Letters

### Educating Youth

F/M: In my copy of your excellent publication that arrived today (Vol. 4, Nos. 9-10), I find a letter to the editor by Mr. Fritz Hamilton that I would like permission to duplicate. On June 21, I begin my summer assignment in which I have a class of public school teachers whose major concern will be that of working with dropout-prone youth. I am certain that the basic ideas expressed by Mr. Hamilton will be very helpful to these students. . . .

*Robert Tinkham  
Associate Professor  
University of Illinois*

### St. Louis Post-Dispatch Corrects Scholastic, Inc.

F/M: In the last issue of *FOCUS/Midwest*, John W. Studebaker of Scholastic Magazine replied to an earlier article by Herbert I. Schiller entitled, "The Dirty Business of School Magazines" in which he said, in part:

"As to the use of advertising-carrying periodicals in the classroom, to which Mr. Schiller is patently opposed, it can only be assumed from his statements that scores of local newspapers such as *The New York Times*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, and ad-carrying magazines other than Scholastic's — such as the *Reader's Digest* (500,000 subscriptions in the schools), *Newsweek*, *Time*, *The National Geographic* — all used in thousands of classrooms — that he believes these, too, are conspiring to 'transform the American classroom into a suburban shopping center' with 'materials interlaced with spurious and soul-destroying values'."

The *Post-Dispatch* cannot speak about the practices of other publications suggested by Mr. Studebaker. We feel it necessary, however, to correct his erroneous assumption about the practices of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Since the inception of its educational program in 1962, the *Post-Dispatch* has emphatically avoided commercialism; our program is free

to all junior and senior high schools in Metropolitan St. Louis. We publish a special weekly supplement; it carries NO advertising (sample enclosed), and it is the backbone of our total program designed to meet these objectives:

1. To give student and teacher a streamlined newspaper adaptable to a limited number of classroom minutes in a day or week.
2. To include the highlights of the news plus the features of a metropolitan newspaper as recommended by local educators.
3. To comply with a few schools who forbade advertising.

Our main goal has always been to stimulate student interest in reading and to provide a supplementary tool to be used in aiding students to develop reading skills. Apparently educators agree the *Post-Dispatch* is a valuable, non-commercial and educational teaching aid. At the close of our fourth year, more than 1100 teachers in some 300 high schools in the St. Louis area voluntarily use this plan.

*Frank Leeming  
Director, Public Affairs  
St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

### Committee Comments On Editorial

F/M: One of our observing members in Illinois has invited our attention to the editorial, "Right To Part Company." (Volume IV, Nos. 9-10).

After deplored the program of the National Right To Work Committee and the formation of a new Right To Work organization in Missouri, your editorial writer suggested that members of the latter group should exercise their right to withdraw from Missourians For Right To Work.

Because the national and state Right To Work organizations are comprised exclusively of voluntary members, an individual is privileged to withdraw from them without fear of penalty.

That same privilege, however, is not enjoyed by members of labor organizations boasting compulsory "union shop" agreements with employers. Workers victimized by such

agreements will be fired from their jobs for refusing to pay union dues, fees and assessments — even if their unions are communist-dominated, racketeer-controlled, or ruthlessly engaging in partisan politics.

A Right To Work law safeguards an individual's right to work at his occupation whether he is, or is not, a dues-paying union member. We who advocate this legislation firmly believe that union members are entitled to the same rights and privileges accorded members of Right To Work organizations. This viewpoint, according to every reliable yardstick used to measure public opinion, is shared by an overwhelming majority of the American people.

*Charles W. Bailey  
Secretary of the Board of  
National Right to Work  
Committee, Washington, D.C.*

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Obviously, Mr. Bailey does not dispute our charge that Birchites and other rightists are deeply involved in the activities of this Committee.)

### Three Chicago Artists

F/M: It was good to see the article about Chicago artists Vladimir Bubalo, Bernard Beckman, and Dominic Di-Meo (*FOCUS/Midwest*, Vol. IV, Nos. 9-10). The gallery where Bubalo's work is available, however, is properly titled Contemporary Prints and Drawings.

*Helen Shlien  
Chicago*

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## Conservative or Disorganized?

**T**HE article, "Why the St. Louis Bus Boycott Collapsed," delves not only into a social protest action; but it also reveals the isolation of Negro groups, the disinterest of Negro politicians, and the aloofness of the city administration from Negro discontent.

St. Louis is as bestowed with potential Negro leaders, its Negro community is as deprived, and the city programs are as limited as in most other cities. Yet, there is no effective and independent Negro leadership nor a united front pressing for improvements. Why?

A common notion is that the Negro in St. Louis is as "moderate" as the rest of the community and that movements such as CORE are not "native." The spectre of the outsider. Certain crusts in St. Louis society may reflect a slow-moving, conservative, and contemplative mood, but they are not the dissatisfied. The reason for the disorganization and absence of leadership must be found in a different set of relationships. A more likely explanation is that St. Louis is liberal enough, decentralized enough, and small enough to control protest movements, Negro and otherwise.

It is liberal enough to provide for the ambitious. In return the elevated must abide by the rules. It is not always a buying off, but frequently a giving way. As such, it is progress but confined to the elite.

It is small enough to exercise economic control. The few who break the unwritten code of conduct are blackballed. An attorney who has handled the "wrong" cases, would never be acceptable as a judge. Outspoken critics will find it difficult to earn a living.

It is politically decentralized enough to offer openings for some of the "outs." In St. Louis, you can not only oppose the Mayor, but you may even find a patronage job as a result. The noose is loose enough to provide for the escape of the most articulate. Such limited upward mobility acts as a release of community tensions.

Contributing to the "conservative" tone is the absence of any liberal movement and the presence of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.

The liberal seems to be as well harnessed as the Negro. None of the regular Democratic clubs would dare call themselves "liberal," although some, such as the Creve Coeur Township Club, may think they follow a liberal course. The only liberal groups are local chapters of primarily Negro national organizations. The St. Louis A.D.A. is small and ineffective.

The *Globe* acts as a vociferous tool of social control. "A little HUAC right in our backyard,"

as one attorney calls it. Unlike the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Globe* not only attacks progressive programs and ideas but it persecutes individuals, and will not rest till they literally have left town. Unfortunately, few have the strength to ignore the *Globe*.

There is a wide gap between the aspirations raised by the poverty war and slogans on the one hand, and the available community instruments on the other. We will not avoid more "Watts" by stopping boycotts, but by intensive application of resources and their coordination by the city, the Human Development Corporation, and civil rights groups.

## The Chicago Press

The interlocking, cozy peace between the Chicago Tribune Co.'s *Tribune* and *American* and the Field Enterprises Inc.'s *Sun-Times* and *Daily News* is never disturbed, says Frank C. Waldrop in "McCormick of Chicago." Ironically, his recently published book has become a prime example of this corporate relationship.

Reviewing Waldrop's book, Richard Pollak writes in the *Columbia Journalism Review* that "it is not even wise to try" to disturb the peace.

... Seeking a reviewer for Waldrop's book, the "News's" enterprising Saturday cultural supplement, *panorama*, went to the trouble of tracking down Milton Mayer in Switzerland. Mayer's credentials for the job are unassailable. Not only is he an author, social critic, and wit; but as a former Chicago newspaperman, he is a McCormick-watcher in excellent standing. "So many people are still afraid of the "Tribune" and its many tentacles," the summons to Mayer lamented. The Waldrop biography, it went on, "needs the kind of courageous, outspoken review only a handful of people could do . . . we hope you will do it."

Swallowing hard, the summoner, Joseph Haas, a *panorama* editor, continued: "The catch, of course, is the *panorama* budget; we can pay only \$50 for the review, one of our top prices. However, we are hopeful you still might be willing to do it at this rate, much beneath your standards, because of your interest in the subject matter."

Because he was interested in the subject and because he did not want to endanger the reserves of Field Enterprises, which has been netting \$10,000,000 annually, Mayer agreed to write the review. It ran to 3,000 words and when it arrived at *panorama*, the supplement's chief editor, Richard Christiansen, was so ecstatic that he wrote Mayer a letter of extravagant praise and thanks. He scheduled the review as the lead article in the February 26 issue, illustrating it with three of the famous "Colonel M'Cosmic" cartoons drawn by Cecil Jensen for the "Daily News" when Frank Knox owned it in the early 1940's. Christiansen was so enthusiastic, in fact, that he voluntarily raised Mayer's pay to \$115.

Mayer received the \$115, but the review never ran in the "News." It's not that Roy M. Fisher, the paper's editor, didn't like it. "I must say," he wrote Mayer, "that I enjoyed reading it immensely, agreed with most of the conclusions you arrived at, and am sure that our readers would have found it most entertaining." The trouble with the review, was that Mayer had made "certain judgments" concerning McCormick and the "Tribune." "Because of our special corporate relationship vis-a-vis the "Tribune", Fisher wrote, "any judgment we might find it appropriate to make on our competitor should be made by ourselves rather than by an outside writer published in our columns." As a work of elucidation, the letter rivaled Ring Lardner's "Shut up," he explained. . . .

The silent ways of censorship which emasculate the Chicago newspapers cannot always be traced. For once they have been exposed. One can only surmise how little freedom the editors and reporters truly have.

Even more regrettable than top-imposed censorship, is the twisting of facts to produce a half-true story. A few weeks ago, *Renewal* magazine reported a bad case of yellow journalism. The following excerpts nicely complete the picture of the Chicago press.

Recently, Chicago's "American" published an HECKLER "PUSHED" DOPE HERE. The following story "revealed" that Chester Robinson, the Executive Director of the West Side Organization, had a criminal record which included a conviction on a narcotics charge. The article appeared shortly after from the now-famous meeting of the National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty where Sargent some twenty-five members of his audience. The part in this demonstration; in fact it contained a specific statement that Robinson had not participated in the heckling. Nevertheless, across the top of the front page was the headline referring to Robinson as a SHRIEVER HECKLER . . .

The headline was written by the paper's managing editor. Before half the day's press run had appeared, it was suggested that the headline be changed to eliminate its unjust allegation against Robinson. The managing editor is reported to have said, "What difference does it make? He (Robinson) was there." The headline remained in all the day's editions.

According to informed sources, the story of Robinson's police record was presented to the paper by (guess who?) the Chicago Police Department. The motive could only have been to discredit Robinson and the W.S.O., perhaps because W.S.O. has accumulated considerable information on police intimidation and overt brutality on the part of a small, but destructive, minority of police officers . . . Chester Robinson's record is public knowledge on the West Side. Indeed his strength as a leader is partially due to the fact that he has been able to turn hostility into the constructive channel of fighting for true economic opportunity in Chicago. . . .

## Birchite Honeymoon With the Mormons

**S**HORTLY the Ezra Taft Benson for President movement, the "1976 Committee," will open national offices at 1835 Oakton, Des Plaines, Illinois. Industrialist William J. Grede, a member of the council of the John Birch Society, chairs the Committee. It also supports Sen. Thurmond of South Carolina for vice president. The name of the Committee underscores their hope that a conservative revival will be effected by 1976.

Although Grede publicly disclaims that the Benson effort is a Birch activity, about half the 30 persons who organized the Committee were Birch Society members. Among the members of the 1976 Committee are Clarence Manion, W. B. McMillan of St. Louis, Ben Moreell, and others, all well known for their archconservative views.

Benson is a Mormon. Commenting on his activities among his co-religionists, *Parade* magazine pointed out, "Ezra Taft Benson has consistently supported the John Birch Society's recruiting drives among Mormons, has intro-

duced as a result a divisive element in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

Earlier, Robert Welch reported that Benson was the chief speaker:

At a testimonial dinner for this writer (Robert Welch) with the full approval of President David O. McKay, the 92-year-old leader of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormon Church). . . . Only a few days before that . . . Dr. Benson had given a speech to a much larger and equally enthusiastic audience that greatly overflowed the huge Assembly Hall on the famous Temple Square of Salt Lake City. In this address, entitled *Stand Up For Freedom*, Dr. Benson took time to explain at some length why he has consistently supported The John Birch Society. President McKay observed the meeting and heard the address by closed circuit television at his residence. And a condensed version of *Stand Up For Freedom* will appear in the *Church News*, the official weekly publication of the Mormon Church. The shortened transcript is, in fact, in the current issue which comes out this week. . . .

Robert Welch then continues to extoll the "Americanist principles" of President McKay and urges all members of the Society to write letters of appreciation to the head of the Mormon Church. He also applauded the appointment of two new Mormon counsellors to McKay, Joseph Fielding Smith and Thorpe B. Isaacson, who he considers equally strong "anti-Communist."

The admiration for the Mormon church is a reversal of earlier relations. In 1963 the Mormon Church was opposed to the Birch Society. In the same year, however, President McKay clarified this position, actually reversing it, and declared "The Church is not opposing The John Birch Society or any other organization of like nature" and "members of the Church are free to join anti-Communist organizations." Later, McKay also gave his blessing to Benson to give a speech at a testimonial dinner for Robert Welch. McKay is also an admirer of Cleon Skousen whose book, "The Naked Communist," he recommended in Church literature.

In spite of his role as a member of the Mormon Church Council of the Twelve, Ezra Taft Benson has, of course, every right to ally himself with any cause. It is a different matter if he uses the machinery and influence of the Church for political purposes of the extreme right. Welch's love affair with McKay and Benson's use of Mormon institutions to defend The John Birch Society deserve scrutiny by the more moderate members of the Mormon Church.

## Form New Anti-Extremist Group

**A** perceptive, if not unusual, approach in fighting extremism is taken by the new blue-ribbon "Committee on Advancing the Democratic Process" in Chicago. The Committee defines extremism "as being related, not to issues, but to tactics." They charge that most American political groups can agree upon vague and generalized goals, but that the extremists' tactics in reaching those goals are destructive of the democratic process.

The founding public meeting presented not only a learned talk by Prof. Franklin H. Littell, president-elect of Iowa Wesleyan, but also a beautiful example of the very tactics denounced. Following the address, a representative of the Birch Society insisted during a question-and-answer period on making a speech of his own. The chairman's invitation to stick to questions and to sit down, were at first ignored by the Birchite. He took over the rostrum to deliver his prepared address to answer "the speaker's accusation." When he finally relinquished the platform, he charged that his freedom of expression is being "squelched." The irrelevancy of this charge must be stressed. Here was a private group invited for a specific purpose. The Birchite failed to understand that the democratic process demands that he abide by the ground rules established for the event. The question was not of squelching dissent, but whether a group may pursue its private goals without disruption by hostile elements.

If the guests had any questions about the validity of CADP, the performance by the Birchite answered all doubts.

## Follow-Ups

We want to commend the Committee of the Belleville (Ill.) Diocese which switched a \$50-a-plate fundraising dinner from the Missouri Athletic Club (St. Louis) to another place because of the MAC's policy of racial segregation. We are proud to note that past editorials in *FOCUS/Midwest* on the MAC have played a significant part in this decision. The Committee raises funds for King's House, a retreat for Catholic laymen.

While *FOCUS/Midwest* believes that private clubs have the right to act without integrity and to discriminate, this does not mean that citizens should frequent such institutions, particularly personalities and organizations in public life. We hope that other institutions will follow the lead of the Belleville Committee.

We welcome the fundraising campaign to form an Urban League chapter in Madison and St. Clair Counties (Illinois). William Boyne, editor of the East St. Louis *Metro-East Journal*, heads up the drive to raise \$50,000 for the new group which was formed at the suggestion of Senator Paul Simon of Troy, Illinois.

By necessity, the work of the Urban League has been centered in the large metropolitan areas. Expanding their leadership into smaller communities, the League can be of direct help to additional thousands now without vocational and other help.

**F. D. Reeve**

### Dorenavant On Se Recueille

The true death of my aunt drifted downriver,  
its corpse shut for the night like a dandelion  
headless on the blue grass. The moonlight  
on the flotsam was a scaffold of mourning;  
a tiger leapt from the floating flames.  
O it was brave and bright at Algeciras  
as the fire destroyed the stars' reflections  
and happiness burned in cities of pain.

### Middle Ground

The ocean opens wide like a flower  
in a green jade vase in the hall.  
The river runs through the door to its lover,  
handsome, dark and tall.

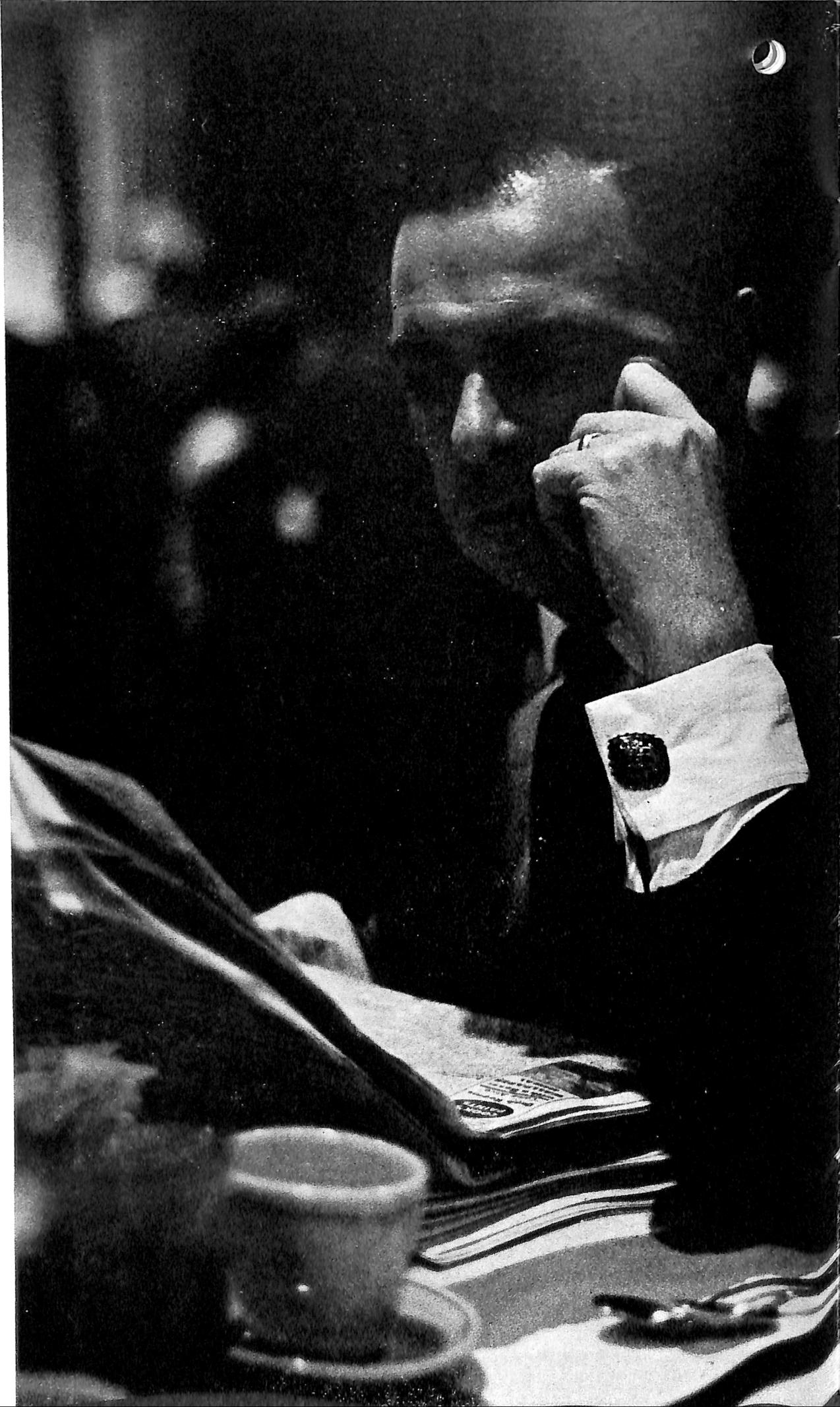
The talk of the evening litters the water;  
gold teeth sink into the waves;  
and the wind like an eyelid laps over the  
laughter, blows over that cool, gray grave.

The fog caresses the fence in the cornfield,  
the back of the breakwater stones,  
the shapes like fish that kiss and congeal  
deep in the salt-water pond.

The secret joy of the salt-lick pasture  
all summer long  
lies dry and clear of its quivering nature  
on the sweeter side of wrong.

The winds of October carry the flowers  
south to warmer lands;  
the river pulls away from its lover,  
and the fishermen free its hands.

*F. D. Reeve has published poems in The Kenyon Review, The New Yorker, The Hudson Review, and other magazines. He has edited, translated, and written several books, of which the most recent is "The Russian Novel."*



*Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes became the target of a social protest action which, he believed, was inspired by political opponents.*

# WHY THE ST. LOUIS BUS BOYCOTT COLLAPSED

Charles L. Klotzer

**R**AELY has a civil rights action brought in its wake as much disension and suspicion as the boycott of the St. Louis buses initiated by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Charges of underhanded political deals, Uncle Tomism, and even payoffs are still bandied about and have hurt the reputation of many on both sides of the controversy.

While others must share the responsibility, the burden for the dismal aftermath must principally be borne by the St. Louis CORE. Goals were not defined, planning was inadequate, control of participants was inefficient, and, most significant, since many of CORE's own leaders had strong reservations about their organization's role, more thought should have been spent on clarifying its commitment.

Many wondered, including CORE leaders, whether the sale of the Consolidated Service Car Co. to the public Bi-State Transit Co. was a civil rights issue. The unification of all transit systems and, in this instance, the displacement of Consolidated's limousines, commonly called jitneys, by buses is a *public* but not a *civil rights* issue, it was argued. While

it may not have been one in *fact*, CORE's participation made it one in the *perception* of the community, and, in consequence, the collapse of the bus boycott became a civil rights failure.

Paradoxically, on a broader level of community involvement, the boycott did address itself to civil rights problems. The racial composition of the drivers (all Negroes who feared unemployment), the paternalistic decision to change transit services without consultations with or explanation to the affected public (nearly all Negroes), and the long standing disregard for the wants of the Negro community were good reasons for some protest action even if the immediate cause was rather tenuous.

A successful conclusion to the boycott should have resolved at least some community tensions and most grievances about the transit service. Instead, CORE's naivete succumbed to the combined pressure of knowledgeable politicians, white and Negro, and the power of the city administration.

When one of the CORE leaders was asked whether he would agree to stop the boycott "if all 1200

traffic tickets issued to CORE's freedom cars would be dropped," he replied, "I would give my right arm for this because the police were writing tickets like bullets flying in Viet Nam."

*A detailed review of the boycott action, from its inception, will offer tangential appreciations of much greater importance than the transit problems. First, effective Negro leadership in St. Louis is not only disorganized and weak but non-existent; second, the city administration has no lines of communication with the Negro community; third, the administration deals with the Negro community through select Negro politicians who are too removed from Negro discontent; and fourth, the war on poverty has been used to silence civil rights agitators.*

## The Bi-State Development Agency

In 1963, the Bi-State Development Agency purchased 15 independently owned bus lines operating in Missouri and Illinois. The agency contracted with Transit Services Cor-

*Anthony F. Sansone is the  
25th Ward Committeeman  
and a friend of  
Mayor Cervantes*



poration, a company formed by the former officers of the private St. Louis Public Service Co., to manage Bi-State Transit Service on a fixed fee basis.

The Bi-State Development Agency is run by ten commissioners. Since its creation in 1949, not one has been a Negro.

After Bi-State had bought the bus companies, the privately owned service car companies—Consolidated and the United Service Car Co.—still syphoned off large amounts of income which today's poorly financed transit systems cannot afford. As early as 1959, W. C. Gilman & Company, traffic engineers, completed a comprehensive "St. Louis Metropolitan Area Transportation Study," on request of the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County. Among others, it recommended the dissolution of all service car companies:

"During the entire day period, the service cars carry about 70 per cent as many passengers as the St. Louis Public Service lines with which they are competing, but make no effort to carry their share of the morning and evening rush hour peaks. This, combined with the relative shortness of the service car routes and the absence of transfer privileges, shows that the service car routes are taking the profitable off-peak, short haul and non-transfer business, which the responsibility of providing basic service for the all day long haul and transfer riding and for the major portion of the rush hour peaks.

"With the exception of three half hour periods during the P.M. rush, the combined passengers of both St. Louis Public Service and the Consolidated Service cars could be carried on existing St. Louis Public Service transit service at acceptable service standards.

"Although the service cars offer a more frequent service than could be given a similar passenger volume by either street cars or buses, this is not sufficient justification for their parasitical activity."

The study was not concerned with the social and political repercussions of their recommendations. While the more recent \$20,000 purchase of the last two cars of the United Service

Car Co., which served white commuters, barely made a paragraph in the daily press; the earlier sale of Consolidated rallied thousands to a protest movement.

### **The Consolidated Service Car Company**

The principal owner of Consolidated, Anthony F. Sansone, is a close business and political associate of Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes of St. Louis. The Mayor himself was a fifty per cent co-owner of Consolidated till shortly after his election when he sold his share for \$125,000 to Sansone. (A third, minor stockholder is Sansone's father.) Sansone, the 25th Ward Democratic Committeeman, was also the Mayor's unsuccessful candidate for chairman of the Democratic City Central Committee. The race was won by Committeeman John L. Lawler, the controversial business manager of Steamfitters Local 562.

At the time of the sale, Consolidated had 80 full-time and 46 part-time drivers. They paid \$95 per month, for which Consolidated provided supervision, insurance, and offered at less than market prices gas, oil, and lubricants. The drivers owned their cars, most of which had been bought from the company. These cars were mortgaged to the Jefferson Bank, an institution with strong links to the Democratic Party, and the insurance was handled by Cervantes.

When Bi-State purchased Consolidated for \$625,000 in November 1965, the drivers called the sale a brutal betrayal of earlier assurances. During the 1965 mayoral campaign, candidate Cervantes and Sansone had

promised the drivers an extension of their routes. In return they campaigned heavily for Cervantes, providing — in the drivers' opinion — the margin by which Cervantes upset the three-term incumbent Raymond R. Tucker.

Now Mayor Cervantes disclaimed responsibility and told the picketing drivers before the sale that the Board of Public Service will make the decision. The Board consists of seven members of the Mayor's cabinet, all appointees. When Consolidated's application to relinquish its license was approved, the one negative vote was cast by the only Negro member, Arthur J. Kennedy, city director of welfare.

It was known that the drivers would react strongly. However, the scope and force of their efforts would depend on their ability to involve the Negro community, which, in St. Louis, moves very slowly.

When the drivers were first told that they might be out of a job, a delegation visited Solomon Rooks, a former driver and chairman of the service car union. (Rooks was not a member of CORE at the time.) He was invited to attend the last meeting of the service car union under Teamsters Local 688. During the meeting the business agent recommended that the drivers accept Sansone's proposals, which included severance pay of \$100 per year up to ten years, payment of mortgages on their cars, and employment with the Bi-State Transit Company for everybody who qualified physically.

The drivers did not trust the offer of employment. Moreover, they claimed that the sale was a breach of contract, since they received less than 60 days notice. Sansone insisted that he had informed Local 688 and that it was up to them to inform the members.



*Benjamin Goins, 21st  
Ward Committeeman,  
helped settle the bus  
boycott*

### **The Legal Battle**

After several fruitless efforts to find legal representation for the drivers, Rooks advised one of them, Acie Cole, to consult with Donald Gunn, Sr., an attorney, president of the Board of Alderman, and political foe of Mayor Cervantes. Gunn, Sr. refused to take the case, but referred them to his son, also an attorney. Whatever the motivation in contacting Gunn, it was an unwise move. It changed a reasonable grievance into a political controversy and invited the city administration to charge that all difficulties were political and reflect an effort "to embarrass the Mayor." Gunn, Jr. later brought in attorneys Hyman G. Stein and Charles Alan Seigel.

The attorneys filed suit in November on behalf of 44 drivers against Anthony F. Sansone and the Bi-State Development Agency. (The number of plaintiffs had now dwindled to 33, the others having withdrawn primarily because of employment with Bi-State.)

The court was asked to appoint a receiver for the \$625,000 (the request was later withdrawn) and that the defendants be ordered to pay \$800,000 in actual damages and \$200,000 in punitive damages. This claim was later amended to ask \$45,000 per driver, an amount three times the alleged damages incurred. The attorneys claim that the drivers were engaged in a partnership or joint venture but were not employees, that they owned the only real assets in the company, and the St. Louis ordinances permitting the running of service cars, state that "no vested right shall accrue to the holder of any certificate of convenience and necessity." Moreover, the drivers claim to have received verbal assurances when purchasing the cars from Sansone that

"...they are buying into a business."

In response, Sansone's attorneys, Murphy & Roche, asked the Court to quash the request for a receiver, insisting that the drivers were employees. Bi-State's attorney, Thomas J. Guilfoil, brushed off the suit with the contention that it was a sovereign body politic and had not consented to the suit. Privately, Bi-State considered \$625,000 a fair price for a going, profitable concern in view of a supplementary Gilman traffic study which had appraised Consolidated as being worth between \$700,000 and \$800,000.

The preliminary work is now nearly completed, and the trial is expected to commence shortly.

### **The Bus Boycott**

St. Louis CORE is an organization on the prowl. It is the only large local organization willing to commit itself, without regard to the cost to its reputation and stature. It is less a deliberative body than an action group. Its members are an odd mixture of middle class attorneys, politicians, (who become less and less active as they gain more and more influence), and a large number of poorer less well educated Negroes. Members pay no dues, but are voted in. They remain on the rolls as inactive members even if they cease coming. Key leaders give different estimates of the active membership, which vary from 150 to 250. There are probably 200 inactive members.

In spite of its bureaucratic shortcomings, the St. Louis CORE is a healthy organization. It is possibly the only group in touch with the poor Negro. Its limited membership is unrelated to the enthusiasm it can arouse. It can stir up and enroll the community in a crusade, frighten the uncommitted, and as it gains in sophistication it may even accomplish its goals.

After unsuccessful attempts to interest the NAACP, Solomon Rooks and the drivers met with Norman Seay, then chairman of CORE. Seay convened a meeting, at which 35 drivers showed up, outnumbering the members. Without delay, CORE voted to boycott the St. Louis Bi-State buses. As one of the former CORE chairmen later stated, the boycott was an act of retaliation rather than of pressing for demands.

*What was the boycott to achieve for the drivers and for the community at large? Significantly, the drivers' aims were unrelated to those of the community. This divergence of purposes contributed to the ultimate collapse of the boycott.*

First, the drivers wanted jobs. Secondly, they didn't want to be left with heavy car mortgages. Thirdly, they wanted severance pay. All of these requests were offered by Sansone from the beginning. Apparently, the drivers simply didn't believe these offers and wanted community backing to insure their fulfillment.

The community wanted its 20-cent rides back. It resented the withdrawal of "their" transportation system without consultation or any explanation. Bus service, fifty per cent costlier than the jitneys, was deficient. For example, the Vandeventer line didn't operate on Sundays. Without much effort, CORE collected 15,000 signatures of protest which were presented to Mayor Cervantes.

In support of the boycott, CORE organized the running of "freedom cars." Among the participants were former drivers with service cars. Passengers were not asked to pay any fares, but were free to make donations. Freedom Car drivers were asked to report in at CORE headquarters, donate \$2 per day for expenses, receive their assignments, and keep to the routes previously served by Consolidated.



*Donald Gunn Sr., President of the Board of Alderman and political foe of the Mayor, refused to handle the drivers' case for political reasons.*

Within a few days the boycott won the approval of the Negro community; the cooperation of NAACP and ACTION, both civil rights groups frequently in competition with CORE; the endorsement of the weekly *St. Louis Argus*, and financial support from the Republican City Central Committee. Even the archconservative *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* swallowed its distaste for CORE and used the Consolidated sale to denounce the Democratic city administration.

Bi-State began to hurt. While it had added 173 trips to those lines formerly served by Consolidated, many of the buses ran nearly empty and it was estimated that the "freedom cars" were costing Bi-State about \$30,000 a month.

### **The City Administration Fights Back**

Assuming that the boycott could be stopped by pressuring a few people in CORE, the administration sought the resignation of Norman Seay as chairman of CORE. A. Donald Bougois, second in command in the St. Louis Human Development Corporation, called in Seay who was employed as coordinator for Kinloch, one of the poorest municipalities in St. Louis County. He was bluntly told to resign as chairman and receive a promotion by HDC, or be fired. Seay resigned as chairman. William Bailey, vice chairman, automatically succeeded to his position. The administration's part in forcing this move was rather plain when Mayor Cervantes pointedly asked Seay, during a demonstration in front of City Hall, "I presume you are on your lunch hour."

The Seay incident — called "our darkest day" by one HDC executive — might never have occurred, if the

HDC Board would have acted earlier on the "Guidelines For Community Action" adopted on March 25. The Guidelines direct poverty war coordinators to organize "the poor to act on community problems affecting them." As part of this "prime and major responsibility" the poverty war staff may participate in legal and non-political "strategies of pressure to induce change" in non-cooperative agencies.

This is an astonishingly progressive move by a conservative Board. In fact, the St. Louis Board is the only poverty body in the country which has legitimized participation in social protest movements. While some poverty officials are now involved in minor actions, the Guidelines remain to be tested on a crucial issue.

William Bailey is a member of the 21st Ward Democratic Club run by Committeeman Benjamin Goins and a patronage employee of the St. Louis Recorder of Deeds. Without Goins' endorsement, Bailey would be out of a job. But there is no reason to doubt Bailey's commitment to the struggle for civil rights, which, he insists, comes before his job. Besides, in an election year, it is unlikely that a Negro politician, such as Goins, would openly act against a civil rights activity. Nevertheless, everything points to Goins as one of the principal go-betweens in bringing about an end to the boycott.

Neither Goins nor any other Negro politician, except for Alderman Joseph B. Clark, a political foe of the Mayor, supported the boycott. The positions of the Negro politicians perfectly correlated with their political allegiances. (Since then, three Negro committeemen have deserted the Mayor: Goins, William Clay of the 26th Ward, and L. Tyus of the 20th Ward. They are now beholden to Committee Chairman John L. Lawler. It remains to be seen whether

they have more freedom to support the civil rights movement.)

While approaches to CORE were made through political channels, pressure was also applied by city detectives, all Negroes, who took rides in freedom cars, made donations, and then issued tickets for failure to possess a service car license and insurance liability sticker. Before the boycott ended, 1200 tickets were issued.

### **The Collapse Of The Boycott**

The suddenness with which the boycott stopped has been cited as evidence that "someone was paid off." Allegedly certain principals to the boycott have said that they "dropped a bundle" to stop it. The *St. Louis Argus* ran copy implying payoffs. William Bailey himself tells of two phone offers of money by "unknown" parties. Others claim that the calls came from two committeemen and included offers of \$2000 and a new car. Bailey also recalls that Sansone once asked him, "Bill, what do you want personally out of this?"

Contributing to these rumors are Bailey's incomplete reports to CORE members on the events leading up to the end of the boycott. But there is no solid evidence that payoffs were made to the principals or any go-betweens. CORE's unfortunate lack of experience, the vagueness of their aims, the unexpected end, have all contributed to the assumption that "someone was paid off." The evidence points to a chain of circumstances which has its roots in the divergence of interests between the drivers and CORE. The drivers had not only involved CORE but also engaged on a legal course. They represented themselves; CORE, the community. The clash was inevitable.



*Norman Seay, coordinator of the Kinloch (Mo.) war on poverty, was forced to resign as CORE chairman by the Human Development Corporation. Seay, a former high school teacher, has made significant contributions to the St. Louis civil rights movement over the years.*

When Hyman Stein, one of the drivers' attorneys, learned that Negro cab drivers had threatened violence he saw a "Watts" in the making. The cab drivers had resented the "freedom cars" from their inception and became more vocal when the freedom car routes were extended beyond the lines once served by Consolidated. Chairman Bailey received many threatening phone calls.

This threat of violence, in its cause unrelated to the protest action, caught Stein's attention. Concerned lest his clients would be placed in a bad light, and eager to assure "peace in the city," he urged his clients to withdraw from the "freedom car" operation immediately. "The issue should not be decided in the streets but in a court of law," he declared later, "the fear of rioting and violence moved me to recommend the adoption of a resolution withdrawing from this operation." Isolated among his lawbooks, out of touch with many current happenings, he innocently precipitated the end of the boycott. While saving the community from an imagined "Watts," he naively ignored the drastic effects which the failure of the boycott may have on the community.

The drivers, who had involved CORE, now left the organization naked in front of the community. They agreed to withdraw without even consulting with CORE.

That same day, Sansone phoned Bailey to arrange a settlement of the boycott. Bailey called an emergency meeting. Only three showed up: Rooks, Donald Gammon, and Lucian Richards. From CORE headquarters they travelled to the 21st Ward Democratic Club where Benjamin Goins awaited them. They agreed on their demands to end the boycott and had Goins phone Sansone and Carl Robinson, manager of Bi-State, to meet with them. Before Goins interceded, he asked for assur-

ances that the boycott would be called off if these demands were accepted.

It is noteworthy that the demands were typed up literally at the last minute at the 21st Ward Club. To be successful, the boycott leaders should have agreed upon *specific* demands from the beginning and publicized them fully. The particular irony is that the final demands were nearly identical to the offers made by Sansone.

CORE's demands were accepted by Sansone and Robinson at a meeting held in a Sheraton-Jefferson Hotel room. They provided that all former drivers are entitled to severance pay of \$100 per year up to ten years; that Bi-State would offer jobs to all physically qualified drivers; that Consolidated would pay for the balance of the car mortgages with the drivers keeping the cars; that Sansone would offer to purchase cars from the drivers; and that the traffic tickets would be worked out. Only the last two concessions were new, but of no intrinsic importance.

CORE was represented at the hotel meeting by Bailey and Gammon; the drivers by Rooks; Consolidated by Sansone; and Bi-State by Robinson.

The agreement was sealed with a handshake. No documents were signed. The larger grievances of the Negro community were ignored.

### **The Aftermath**

At the first CORE meeting after the boycott ended, the decision by the CORE representative to end the boycott was challenged belligerently. Bailey was told that he could only make provisional agreements and that decisions are made by majority vote. A motion to continue the boycott was not recognized by Bailey. He offered to resign.

"I have given my word and I will keep it" he declared. Unwilling to accept his resignation, the motion was tabled where it remains today.

Solomon Rooks, who had meanwhile joined CORE and became the vice-chairman, called the members' reaction hysterical. "We who attended the meeting got the blame and embarrassment. Many people accused us of selling out. We were branded Uncle Toms. It is very easy to be critical without knowing the truth. If there was any selling out it was done without my aid or knowledge."

The agreement has partially been implemented. At the time of this writing, 47 of the Consolidated drivers applied for jobs. Of the 47, three did not take the test, nine failed to qualify because of some physical impediment but are under treatment, and 35 were hired. The hired drivers work as bus operators (19), maintenance men (14), and two resigned.

The trial of the 1,200 tickets has been repeatedly continued. It is expected that they will be *nolle prossed* late this year.

A major error, according to William Bailey, was the decision to ask for "donations." Without donations the participants' motivation would have been purer, they could not have been threatened with traffic tickets, and unwelcome freeloaders could have been kept away.

This error, however, is not basic but typifies other faults referred to earlier. Enthusiasm can enroll a large following, but only sophisticated organization and leadership can ensure a successful completion of a protest action.

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*Charles L. Klotzer is the editor and publisher of FOCUS/Midwest.*

# ON THE WAR



AMONG the thousands of people who recently marched on Chicago's City Hall behind Martin Luther King, were several thousand members of youth gangs, the street fighters or "gang bangers" as they are known. Seeing these young men was alarming to many. They are a powerful, though as yet only potential, new force in the civil rights movement. Their presence also suggests a solution to a long standing Chicago problem.

Throughout the winter, Chicago Police announced constant increases in the theft of guns, increases which by midwinter had passed the horrifying and approached the unbelievable. These thefts reflected a systematic arming of the huge South Side youth gangs, some of which have as many as 1,500 members. They have been stockpiling weapons in preparation for the long hot summer.

In reaction to this there has been unanimous agreement by the good people of Chicago that something had to be done, and substantial agreement that the gangs should be broken up, but no agreement on how this could be accomplished. In fact, there really is no way of breaking them up.

The gang members can not all be arrested. There would be nothing to charge them with and no way of holding them. Each member is sworn on pain of death not to incriminate the others; and the sanction is regularly imposed.

Nor can the gangs be dispersed by removing the leaders. There may be twenty-five leaders, with an established order of succession. And the leaders often exercise authority even from within jail.

Organized with the thorough precision of elite military units, these gangs are like tribal societies. No established institution is equipped to

# Y TO SEE THE MAN

**Gary Stallings**

deal with them.

The few adults in contact with these gangs are helpless. They can do nothing about the conditions which cause the gangs, so they have nothing to offer but themselves; and they can not even offer themselves whole. In order to retain the trust of the gang, they must overlook, sometimes literally, today's murder in hope of preventing tomorrow's. Precisely the same retribution would be extracted from them as from any gang member if they were to break the code of silence.

Yet two of these adults, both *volunteer* street workers, (one had a job with a boys' club, but was fired for his work with the gangs) have been the keys to peace. For the time being, there is a truce, a pledge of non-violence symbolized by the wearing of a small brown button with a white design. This design is the emblem of the Union to End Slums, an omnibus organization of civil rights groups spearheaded by Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The gangs, tentatively, have joined the Movement.

**B**UT even though Freedom Now has arrived, non-violence probably remains a foreign, mysterious, and thorny irrelevancy, a tactic at very best. The gangs and the Movement represent polar reactions to social evil. Still, there are many reasons for believing that the conversion *will* take. For one thing, most of the gang members are idle, jobless dropouts, and the Movement offers activity. They are frightened, and the Movement offers a possibility of peace. They are full of hatred, and the Movement offers relatively safe and respected expression. The Movement offers change, excitement, and in-

formation; and it offers the most appealing people that any of them may ever meet. So the conversion is both reasonable and bizarre; and while it was taking place these aspects were often blended.

One night in a church auditorium three hundred Blackstone Rangers gathered for a lesson in non-violence, three hundred scarred, armed, suspicious, and explosive black boys, a tried army of street veterans. In front of them were twelve small blond white children, whispering, giggling, trading childish boasts and Batman stories. These had been brought to show the Rangers they were trusted. Their parents were members of the South Shore Organization for Human Rights, a group which put the volunteer street workers and the gang into contact with the SCLC organizers.

Into this unlikely assemblage came a giant figure, bearded, wearing work clothes and a billed cap: Jim Orange of the SCLC. He moved into the crowd, tousling a blond head as he passed, and shouted, "How are the Rangers?" The Rangers replied with scattered hurrahs and catcalls. Orange told them there was going to be a movie in a minute, and until then they were going to sing a couple of songs. This information was greeted with hoots and jeers. "You think you're too bad to sing?" Orange asked. "Well I'm badder than *all* of you, so we're going to sing." He moved into the center of the crowd, telling them to shut up, holding up his hands for silence, waving his cap, and occasionally pointing someone out and demanding, "Shut that nigger up!" The noise went way down. It looked as though he might really be badder than all of them. Then he started clapping and singing, a song with the single word "freedom" repeated as the refrain. The opposing

noise grew; but he clapped louder and a few joined. He sang the verse, inaudible in the noise, but when he got to the refrain, half the house was clapping, then *all* the house, and the "freedoms" rolled out like cannon. The boys didn't seem to *want* to sing; but they seemed to be unable to help it.

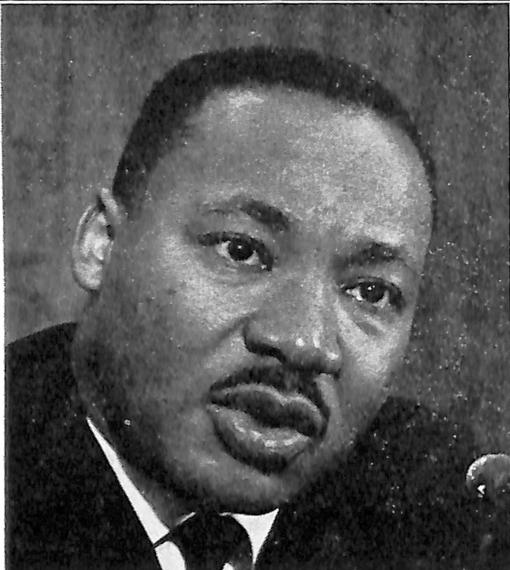
The movie was a CBS documentary on the Watts riots. There were cheers when a white policeman went down, cheers again when the rioters shouted, "Get Whitey!" But when individual rioters told how it was and why, there was near-silence. During the show, the white children were removed to meet their bedtimes.

Then Reverend James Bevel came on, a small, handsome man in an immaculate grey suit. He talked about violence and non-violence, starting from the bottom: Never throw rocks at a man with a machine gun. And generalizing: The Man has machine guns, lots of them, and whatever you have is no better than rocks.

He pointed out the facts: In Watts, thirty-five people were killed, thirty Negroes and five whites; and the whites *weren't* killed by Negroes . . . something fell on them.

That got a grudging laugh.

Then he brought the lesson right into their situation: What's a gang fight all about? Everybody fights for their turf, their territory. If someone comes onto your turf, you cut them up. If you go onto their turf, they cut you up. Everybody protects his turf. But whose turf is it *really*? Who owns the turf? Some white man downtown. You're protecting for him. And what is it anyway? A stinking ghetto! The Man boxes you in down here, lets the rats get as big as bulldogs, and the schools fall into the ground, and you cats get so mad about it that you kill each other! No wonder The Man thinks you're dumb.



*Martin Luther King led 35,000 to 50,000 Chicagoans to City Hall and posted on its doors 32 demands which would reform the life of the Second City*

By this time the boys seemed to be hooked. They were noisy, but apparently because they could not control their excitement. Bevel commanded their attention with his hands.

He started on The Man, the power structure, the system. Does The Man care if you've dropped out of school? No, that just means you won't be taking up any white jobs. Does The Man care if you spend your time cutting each other up? No, he thinks it's good practice for you. If you're nothing but dumb killers, you'll be perfect to go fight his war in Viet Nam.

And then he talked about the police. They were in and around the meeting in such force that even the smallest children had been amazed. Bevel had an explanation: You've been down here for years snatching each other's mother's purses. Did The Man ever send his cops in to stop you? Never! You've been murdering each other for years. Did The Man ever send his cops in to stop you? Never! But one night you sit down in a church and start to think and The Man sends his cops in like this was the *D-Day Invasion*.

The room went up in cheers, peals of insane laughter, and applause. When it died down, Bevel pointed at them and said that for the first time, *They had The Man scared.*

**T**HE next night police broke up a workshop that the SCLC organizers were having with the Disciples, a gang that battles the Rangers. Members of the South Shore Organization called to ask for an end to police interference and were politely told that if any trouble developed, they and the SCLC organizers would all be charged with conspiracy. Presumably, "trouble" could be interpreted to mean the same kind of

gang warfare that has been going on for years. But with more pleading on a broader front, including phone calls from the ACLU, other meetings were held without the police.

The police, however, were almost the only thing that didn't happen; and if they had been there, the meetings would have failed. There were a dozen times when the police would have broken the whole thing up, even if they did no more than their plain, sworn duty.

One meeting with the Disciples was stopped by a fight — a matter of the gang's internal discipline. The victim of the punishment escaped into a thunderstorm and the whole thing took on a nightmarish aspect as squads of boys were sent out to hunt him down, while the teachers, youth workers, ministers, and organizers waited. It was as though the boys from Lord of the Flies were going on about their grisly business even after the sailors had arrived.

Eventually that was settled and thirty of the Disciples were taken across town for a confrontation with the Rangers. The leaders had met before; in fact several contacts had been arranged. They had all agreed beforehand that they wanted to work for peace. But this was the first time that large numbers of them had faced each other. There were about seventy boys, some drunk, all crowded into a room too small and too hot. The long feud between them seemed to be palpably present, as if the ghosts of murdered brothers had come in to haunt the room and curse the peace.

Martin Luther King spoke to them for a few minutes, welcoming them to the Movement. They received him with what, considering the situation, may have been respect, but without seeming to care, believe, or understand. When King left and turned the meeting over to Reverend Al Sampson,

there was suddenly a lot of talk and tension, a tension that seemed to verge on horror. The talking rose to shouting, and then silence. The gangs moved at each other.

Jim Orange dived into the middle, like Gulliver among the Lilliputians, bellowing and holding them back with his mere presence. Reverend Sampson joined him. Sampson's voice was shrill from the middle of the mob, pleading in furious exasperation. He pressed between the two groups and held them apart, not pushing but touching them, caressing their faces, pleading with them to stop and be cool, shouting that he loved them, loved them because they were black, and mad, and hung-up. Orange stood on a chair to guard the peace, and Sampson kept moving and reaching out to the boys, crying that he wanted to make them a part of his life, because he loved them, because The Man had them hung-up, because The Man had their mothers hung-up, because The Man had almost killed love.

Orange started setting them down, one at a time. Three got back up for every four he put down; so he started over again, and again, until finally everybody got back down except the leaders who faced each other in front of the room.

Sampson started from the beginning for the hundredth time: Did they want to stop the war? They agreed. Point by point he went on. A truce was pledged and repledged until it was pledged with fervor. It was agreed that the SCLC button would be the sign of peace. The leaders gave orders to the members, and made the orders clear. Anyone who started fighting would be risking the lives of everyone in the gang and would be treated accordingly.

Delegations were chosen to go on with the negotiations that night at

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Dr. King's house. Cars were rounded up to take the rest of the boys home. A tall Ranger came down the hallway with his arms around the shoulders of two Disciples. He seemed to be weak with relief, talking incessantly like a man just saved from death. "We all bleed the same," he was saying. "You're hip to that . . . we all bleed the same."

THESE initial successes have aroused opposition from almost every agency and institution in the city. Even civil rights groups and the Negro press have come out solidly against the project, apparently because their *theories* demand that the gangs be broken up; and the attempt to bring the gangs into the Movement is an attempt to strengthen their organization and discipline. As Bevel said, "I need 50,000 people to go downtown with me this summer, downtown to see The Man. I need 50,000 people to go to jail with me."

When they asked him when they were going to march again, he said, "We're going to march once more. But that time we're going to close down the city and change all the rules." At this one of the gang boys smiled, tongued the match to the other side of his mouth, and said, "You'd better believe it, baby!"

Those people without a stake in the way The Man has organized the city are hoping they can believe it.

Gary Stallings worked as a newspaper reporter in Ogden and Chicago. He taught English at Michigan College of Science and Phoenix College. Currently, he is writing educational films for Encyclopaedia Britannica. His writings have been published in Chicago Review, Story, Phoenix, and other quarterlies.

Volume IV, Numbers 11 and 12

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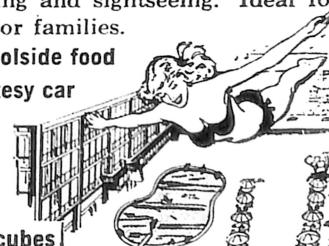



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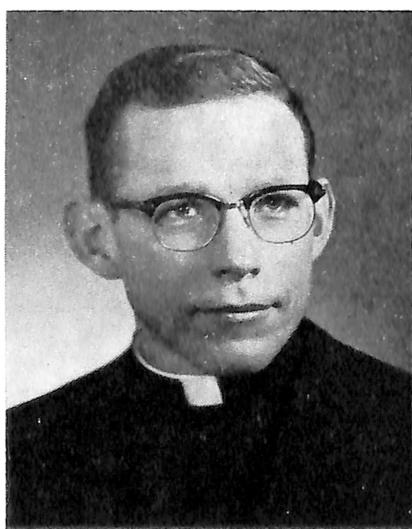
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Pastor Kenneth S. Waterman is the director of the Presbyterian Neighborhood Center



Saul Alinsky is the force behind the Back of the Yards Foundation headquartered in Chicago



The Rev. Lawrence J. McNamara, S.T.L., is the director of Kansas City Catholic Charities and president of the Citizens' Alliance Against Poverty



Homer Wadsworth is president of the Kansas City Association of Trust and Foundations

# *How Much Power For the Poor?*

EDGAR CHASTEE

FOURTEEN months after its formation, the Human Resources Board of Kansas City, Missouri, the local arm of the war on poverty voted to disband. It also withdrew the two and a quarter million dollar package submitted for funding to the Office of Economic Opportunity two months earlier. The demise of the board so soon after its birth, was the predictable outcome over disagreement on how the poor should be involved.

(Meanwhile, a new board has been formed and a new program drawn up. While this board has been in operation for several months, it is too early to judge its performance. However, the problems encountered by the first board are still alive and of pertinence not only to Kansas City but also to other cities facing the same issue.)

The war on poverty, unlike earlier welfare programs, emphasizes participation of the poor. The Economic Opportunity Act requires: ". . . the maximum feasible participation of the residents of the areas or neighborhoods in which the program will be carried out."

Why, for the first time in American history, have the poor been granted a voice in planning programs designed to aid them? First, the traditional, professionally planned and executed welfare programs were inadequate. In the face of immense needs, a new tactic was sorely needed. Secondly, the civil rights movement has demonstrated that the disadvantaged can plan and act for themselves.

The fact that this "maximum feasible participation" requirement does not specify the exact intent or extent of participation by the poor has caused many to view the program with suspicion. Some community power holders and local government bureaucracies saw in such a requirement: the potential creation of a political opposition; the formation of an inefficient sub-structure incapable

of effective action; and an increasing activism among the poor which threatens to disrupt traditional middle-class values and life styles.

It is precisely because the poor have never before had a voice in the welfare industry that such fears have been generated by the seemingly innocent phrase, "maximum feasible participation." This phrase, however, is a source of consternation not only for those who fear its implication, but for those who seek to implement it as well. As cities throughout the nation have organized for the war on poverty, a host of problems have arisen — many of them directly related to the difficulty of translating the requirement into a reality acceptable both to local interests and to Washington.

How are the poor to be involved? What responsibilities are they to have? Which of the poor are to participate? How many should take part? Obviously, only a small number of the 32-50 million poor people in this country will be needed to become soldiers in this novel variety of internal cold war.

THE war on poverty was formally declared on August 20, 1964, when the Economic Opportunity Act became law. On October 5, 1964, the battle was joined in Kansas City, Missouri, when the Human Resources Corporation was organized. The primary purpose of this non-profit corporation was stated in the charter as: ". . . eliminating poverty among the people of Kansas City, Missouri and its environs."

Before the board was dissolved on December 21, 1965, three community factions had appeared. Of the three, two were represented on the board, and the third was the local O.E.O. To see how these factions developed and what their points of difference were, we must briefly review the history

of the Human Resources Corporation.

The HRC was incorporated with a board of four: Ilus Davis, Mayor of Kansas City; Homer Wadsworth, president of the Kansas City Association of Trusts and Foundations; James Doarn, a regional representative of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Charles E. Curry, presiding judge of the Jackson County Court.

By early 1965 the board numbered 15 members drawn from the governmental, welfare, religious, and civic leadership of the city. Three minority group members were included among the 15. Two were Negro professional men: Louneer Pemberton, executive director of the Kansas City Urban League, and Dr. Frank E. Ellis, director of the Out-Patient Clinic at General Hospital. The third minority member was Marciano Morales representing the Mexican-American Organization for Progress.

No one who qualified as poor, according to O.E.O. guidelines, was a member of the board until June 29, 1965 — eight months after it was formed. No provision had been made in the HRC charter for selecting board members from poverty areas. This issue was first raised on April 20, when the board was told that "O.E.O. was insisting that the poor be represented on governing bodies of community action programs or otherwise be clearly and definitely brought into the planning of programs."

This initial effort by O.E.O. to influence board structure ultimately led to the break-up of the board. From its beginning, the board was a fragile alliance of conflicting personalities and philosophies. This characteristic was purposely built into it on the assumption that community conflict might be averted if differences of opinion could be reconciled within the board itself. This might have

*Chester Stovall is the executive director of the Kansas City Human Development Corporation*



succeeded, though it seems unlikely, if O.E.O. had not unwittingly given dissonant board members an issue with which to destroy the board.

**T**HERE was talk in Kansas City during the fall of 1964 that Saul Alinsky was coming to town. This worried the political leadership of Kansas City then, as his actual presence in the city worries them now. In an apparent effort to abort the support which Alinsky was developing, the HRC invited his two principal supporters to join their board: Reverend Lawrence McNamara, director of Catholic Charities in Kansas City, and Reverend Kenneth Waterman, director of the Presbyterian Neighborhood Center. Both have been active in welfare activities for several years. This fact alone would have recommended them for membership on the HRC Board. But because they had frequently taken positions on public questions contrary to those of city government and various political interests, it is unlikely that they were chosen simply on merit.

When it became necessary, in April 1965, for the board to include representatives of the poor, Reverend Waterman was appointed chairman of a three-man committee to devise a method of selection. On May 18, Reverend Waterman recommended that the board designate the newly formed Citizens' Alliance Against Poverty to select a panel of six poor people. (Reverend McNamara was president of the Citizens' Alliance.) From this panel, the board would then select three people for membership.

Alliance membership was drawn from religious, welfare, and civil rights groups active in the inner city. By June 1, the Alliance had a list of 16 names but was having difficulty reducing it. At the insistence of the board, the list was reduced to six by June 29; three were then elected to the board.

It soon became obvious, that the two ministers were not satisfied that "maxi-

mum feasible participation" of the poor had been attained. At the August 10 board meeting, Reverend McNamara moved that "maximum opportunity . . . be given to the people in the areas in which (poverty) centers are located to indicate services and to share in the administrative responsibility for operation of the centers." The motion was defeated after lengthy debate.

In an apparent attempt to reconcile the two board factions, Chester Stovall, executive director of HRC, then appointed the original 16 nominees as an advisory body, "The Inner City Technical Advisory Panel." They were given "the responsibility for reviewing all applications for community action grants and providing advice, counsel, recommendations, and suggestions to the Executive Board . . ."

**F**OR three months, the Corporation developed plans. Then, before the O.E.O. could evaluate the first programs submitted in October, the inherent conflicts in the board broke into the open and, being irreconcilable, caused its dissolution.

A barrage of charges were made in rapid succession:

Reverend Waterman claimed that the Inner City Panel was being misused by the HRC;

Thirteen of the 16 members of the Panel sent a statement to the O.E.O. stating that "We . . . are not able to take real action" and "We have not seen the proposed component applications;"

Reverend McNamara called for a special board meeting "to discuss fuller participation by the poor;" and

The Inner City Department of the Council of Churches of Metropolitan Kansas City issued a public statement urging "that the membership of the HRC be revised in accordance with the standards of the Community Action Program Guidelines for the

maximum feasible participation of the poor."

Against this background, the board met on December 21 to consider ways to further involve the poor. On behalf of the Citizens Alliance, Reverend McNamara moved:

"That the majority of HRC Board of Directors be democratically elected by the poor from among the poor;

"That many poor people be involved in the administration, employment, and implementation of the program;

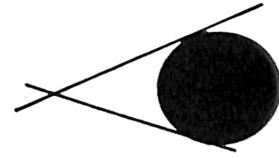
"That present applications be suspended until the poor could be involved;

"That no further applications be forwarded to O.E.O. by HRC until the Board of HRC includes a majority of poor people elected by the poor."

The chair refused to consider such an all inclusive motion, and before a vote could be taken, Mr. Wadsworth moved to disband the board. The motion carried with Waterman, McNamara, and the poverty members voting against it.

One member summed up the feeling of the majority board faction when he observed that, "The original plan to elect people from areas served by the board was adopted at the suggestion of Father McNamara and Mr. Waterman, but now these same people find fault with it."

Actually, this conflict is not so surprising. Because the two ministers were suspected from the beginning of having a vested interest in their own poverty program, *a la* Alinsky, the board was never able to evaluate their opposition critically. And because the ministers felt that they alone understood the poor, they could not grant the other board members a fair hearing. The factions could not communicate with each other. When O.E.O. issued an ultimatum that the board comply with the ambiguous "maximum feasible participation" requirement, the breakdown was inevitable.



## THE RIGHT WING

In part, it appears, both ministers were motivated by their desire to stall the war on poverty until Alinsky could get to work. A large part of Alinsky's \$127,000 budget for his 30-month project was underwritten by the Catholic and Presbyterian churches. The churches also stood to gain influence and power among the poor if their programs, rather than those of the war on poverty, were to be the vehicle of deliverance.

On the other hand, the majority of the board favored social changes too traditional to be effective. They wanted to maintain the existing social structure; they cared little to renovate, less to change radically, the established patterns of decision-making.

Immediately after the board disbanded, two suggestions were made to define "maximum feasible participation." Freedom, Inc., a local Negro political organization, issued a public statement recommending that 90 per cent of the new board be Negro, because 90 per cent of the poor were Negro. O.E.O. still refused to suggest an answer except to say that in other cities it had found 27 per cent participation by the poor to be a workable proportion.

Whether this meant that 27 per cent of the new board should be poor or that 27 per cent of the total number of people involved in the war on poverty (in whatever capacity) should be poor, it was impossible to know. The confusion grew.

A new HRC board now exists. After a six-week campaign financed by O.E.O., which has now apparently decided that "maximum feasible participation" requires an election, seven poverty areas representatives were elected on February 15, 1966. A total of 275 candidates from seven poverty areas ran for the 77 elective offices in the HRC now filled by representatives of the poor. Eleven people were elected from each poverty area to newly created Area Boards, and the person receiving the largest vote in

each area also became a member of the HRC Board. To be eligible for election, a person had only to live in the poverty area. He did not have to actually be poor according to O.E.O. guidelines, i.e. under \$3,000 yearly income.

Officials of the O.E.O. and HRC expressed elation over the 8,287 voters who turned out for the election. This represented seven per cent of the eligible voters — the eligible being those 17 years of age or over who lived in the area. After all the debate in the first board over participation by the poor, it is ironic that only one of those elected to the new board from the poverty areas qualified as poor; and that one was a member of the first board.

After its organization, the new board re-submitted to O.E.O. the program proposals developed by their predecessor. Money to establish neighborhood centers to house personnel and programs and to provide legal aid for the poor has been granted. More than a dozen other programs have recently been funded, but as yet no program is in operation. Nothing visible to the poor has been done to "eliminate poverty" as promised by the HRC 22 months ago.

Five months have now passed since the poverty area elections. Whatever enthusiasm was developed during the campaign has largely disappeared. It remains to be seen if it can be rekindled and if the participants in the poverty war can reach a workable definition of "maximum feasible participation."

An earlier issue of FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. III, No. 6/7) carried a "Roster of the Right Wing and the Fanatics" describing 45 organizations located or active in the Illinois-Missouri area. This column, "The Right Wing," will keep our readers abreast of new developments. Together with the "Roster" it offers an up-to-date service. Copies of "The Roster" are available at \$1.00 each.

### CHESTER BERRLOW

Quoted from the May 1966 Bulletin of the John Birch Society: "The pamphlet, 'On The Shape Of Things To Come,' is written and published under the name of Chester Berrlow, without any other name to serve the too sensitive reader as a red light warning him of Birchism." Mr. Berrlow lives in Glenview, Illinois.

### PATRIOTIC PARTY

The Patriotic Party, led by Robert B. DePugh, chief of the Minutemen, was formed in Kansas City early in July. Regional conventions are now scheduled for New York City, Birmingham, Phoenix, and other cities. State chairman in 47 states were named.

### THE MINUTEMEN

Laird M. Wilcox, editor of the *Kansas City Free Press*, reports that information about the Minutemen was leaked to him by a Mr. Jerry Milton Brooks, a former Minuteman. Brooks "joined the Minutemen in 1960 in Collinsville, Illinois, where he was recruited by Richard Lauchli, a Minuteman Council member. He came to Kansas City in 1962 and had been working as an intelligence and security officer up until his break with the organization in December 1965. . . . He told of a plot to assassinate Senator William Fulbright that was stopped at the eleventh hour by Robert DePugh, for fear it would be discovered and destroy the organization. He told of another plot to put cyanide in the air conditioning system of the United Nations building in New York that was also aborted. Brooks is unable to hold a job because of harassment by Minutemen — even his landlady has had her life threatened.

*Edgar Chasteen is associate professor of sociology at William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri. He has a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Missouri. His paper "The Limitations of Scientific Sociology," was selected as the best one at the 1964 Missouri Academy of Science meeting and was accepted for publication.*

*PAUL DOUGLAS*

**FOR  
IRVING DILLIARD**



**AGAINST  
HARRY BARNARD**

THE editor of *FOCUS/Midwest* tells me that this column for the re-election of Paul H. Douglas is to be paired with one by Harry Barnard in opposition to the Illinois senior Senator. I have so regularly agreed with Harry Barnard and so long admired his outstanding literary and political work, including "Eagle Forgotten," his historic biography of the great John Peter Altgeld, that differing from him on a matter so important is going to be a new experience for me. But since Harry Barnard and I both believe in the freest exchange of information and opinion, even this new experience will be appropriate in a way.

I strongly favor the re-election of Paul Douglas next November on the total record of his nearly 18 years — three full terms — in the Senate. Apparently, the chief opposition to Senator Douglas centers around his support for the Johnson Administration's Vietnam policy. I do not like the war in Vietnam and I hope as much as anyone for its end. So does Paul Douglas, twice wounded Marine Corps veteran of World War II, hope for its end, too.

To oppose Senator Douglas primarily because he has not advocated immediate withdrawal from Vietnam seems to me to be grossly unfair to a distinguished public servant and also politically unrealistic. In the 1920s, during the days of prohibition, the Anti-Saloon League rated members of Congress by one test alone — how they stood on the Prohibition Amendment and the implementing Vol-

SOMETIMES, when I voice opposition to the Democratic candidate for Senator in Illinois, Paul Douglas, the charge of party disloyalty is raised. Of course, that's nonsense. John P. Altgeld, an unquestioned Democrat, the greatest liberal Democrat since Jefferson, broke with Grover Cleveland. Jane Addams, a Republican, became a Bull Mooser. So did Harold Ickes. Paul Douglas himself did not vote for Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, and he tried to defeat the regular Democratic candidate for Senator, Ray McKeough, the Labor leader, in 1942. There are times when it becomes impossible, from principle, for even the most loyal party member to support his party's candidates.

I am against McCarthyism. Isn't every liberal Democrat? No, not all who call themselves that. Douglas went along with McCarthy. McCarthy showed his gratitude by ostentatiously not campaigning for Douglas's Republican opponent. Douglas has said several times in public, with great feeling, "The Communists are worse than the Nazis, at least the Nazis were not hypocrites." That's a statement by a U.S. Senator to ponder. As *The Nation* magazine, March 21, pointed out Jewish leaders properly expressed shock over what that statement revealed about Douglas.

# FOR SENATOR?

stead Act. By this single test senatorial statesman as valuable and constructive as the famous George W. Norris was proscribed as unfit and marked for defeat by the Anti-Saloon League. That was most unjust to Senator Norris in that it gave undue weight to his opposition to prohibition and ignored his outstanding public services over many years in both the House and Senate.

I hope that one of the lessons learned since the prohibition fiasco is not to turn thumbs down on a valued member of Congress on a single issue alone.

Long before either he or his wife entered Congress, Paul Douglas was not only an advocate but a drafter of legislative proposals that now serve us all. He was an early backer of social security, medicare, aid to elementary and higher education, air and water pollution control, civil rights, and the beautification of the highways. Congressional leaders turned to writings of Paul Douglas as a professional economist to inform themselves on many of these subjects.

Since his first selection to the Senate in 1948, Paul Douglas has put his name to many significant pieces of legislation relating to minimum wages, distressed area redevelopment, pension and welfare funds disclosure, economic development, the retirement of railway employees and conservation. He is the indefatigable sponsor of the "Truth-in-Lending" bill to require loan companies and other lenders to state the true annual rate of interest charged against those who must borrow money. He led

one of the greatest fights in Senate history in defeating the Dirksen maneuver to override the "One Man, One Vote" decision of the Supreme Court, a national public service.

Along with all this, Senator Douglas has been a foremost advocate of economy in government and has earned the gratitude of many thousands for this continuous concern for the elimination of waste. He and his wife report to their constituents annually the extent of their financial holdings and income. It is no wonder that the late President Kennedy said that Paul Douglas "is one of the most gifted figures in the Senate in this century."

Senator Douglas' November opponent is clearly above the average in talents and qualifications. But Charles H. Percy would be at the bottom of the Senatorial ladder in seniority and experience, while Senator Douglas, now in the highest fifth of the Senate in length of service, also stands high on important committees and is due again to head the Joint Economic Committee. I welcome the opportunity to vote for Paul H. Douglas for a fourth term in the United States Senate.

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*Irving Dilliard of Collinsville is Trustee of the University of Illinois and Ferris Professor in the Council of the Humanities at Princeton University. He is at work on a book on American civil liberties.*

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Like nearly all politicians in Northern states, Douglas votes correctly on civil rights, medicare, and similar domestic issues. But these no longer are issues that require Douglas in the Senate. Not so on issues involving McCarthyism. When Douglas goes along with McCarthy, he is, unfortunately, influential because he still has the reputation of being an intellectual liberal who once was himself smeared by Mrs. Dilling, McCarthy's predecessor. He did not like it and called on me, Milton Mayer, and others to help him oppose such McCarthyism against him. His earlier reputation seduces others to follow, or condone, his course when he goes along with witch-hunters.

An even more compelling reason concerns foreign policy. In the United States today, there is no more belligerent, dedicated warhawk than Paul Douglas. He has repeatedly condoned the use of nuclear bombs, in the past and in the future, more vigorously than Goldwater. He "hopes" their use won't be necessary, he tells peace-minded folk. His view here is representative of his total posture on foreign affairs. Some good people call this irrelevant with respect to Paul's domestic side. I do not. I have sons and grandchildren. I think only God has the right to decide to destroy the

world. Douglas has been this way since the 1940's. I first really caught on when, from his Marine base in the Pacific, during the war, he wrote to me that his dearest wish was to get back to the University, just to be a professor again, but he wanted "first to kill a Jap." I was forced then, against friendship, to see that Douglas no longer was what he had been, the man whose political career I had helped to launch. As John P. Altgeld felt that the Democratic party would be better off without Grover Cleveland, I feel it would be better off without Douglas. So would America and liberalism. Even Paul would be better off in retirement. I know few of his old friends who do not agree, privately. Some of his new friends are not people with whom I normally associate. I do not attend meetings of the Polish National Alliance or the American Legion.

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*Harry Barnard is the author of "Eagle Forgotten," a biography of John Peter Altgeld, governor of Illinois from 1893 to 1897. The book, published in 1938, has recently been re-issued in hard covers and paperbacks and is considered the outstanding work on Altgeld.*

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# NEW HOPE FOR ST. LOUIS COUNTY SCHOOLS / FRED W. LINDECKE

FORCES are building for a new push for school consolidation in St. Louis county. Consolidation of school districts long has been opposed in the county — an area that specializes in fragmented government of all types. But powerful factors may at last break down this opposition.

Consolidation of the county's 26 school districts into a single district or, for instance, three districts, appears now to offer relief from ever-increasing tax rates and a desperate shortage of school funds.

With the state unable to satiate the public schools' need for money through its school aid program, educators have been trying to fulfill their needs through other means. Other than simply asking for more tax increases, they have had little success.

In 1962, a proposed constitutional amendment was defeated which would have permitted partial tax equalization for county school districts. Early this year, educators from the city of St. Louis sought to get authority for school districts to levy an income tax, but the effort collapsed. Recent attempts to remove the two-thirds vote requirement to pass bond issues and certain school tax increases also have failed.

Evidence is increasing that reorganization of school districts now will be tried in St. Louis county as a means of finding more money to finance education.

Representative Walter L. Meyer of Bellefontaine Neighbors said he will offer legislation to create a county-wide school district in the 1967 session of the Missouri legislature. Meyer failed in an attempt in the 1965 session to pass a bill that would have partially equalized taxes among the 26 school districts.

In addition, a recent state attorney general's opinion has confirmed that a provision in a 1963 recodification of state school law provides an easy method of consolidating county school

districts. Senator Maurice Schechter of Creve Coeur, another advocate of school consolidation, discovered the unpublicized section of law and obtained the attorney general's opinion.

*The provision states that only 25 registered voters are required to sign a petition causing a consolidation election to be held. It also states that a majority vote in the entire proposed new school district shall approve the consolidation, and not separate majority votes in each of the districts selected for merger.*

It seems certain that residents in several of the poorer school districts will attempt to use this newly-found consolidation method. It opens a way for populous school districts with financial troubles to merge with wealthy, less populous districts. Already, however, opponents of school consolidation are planning a court test of this provision. They are planning to claim the method is a substantive change in school law which was made illegally in the 1963 recodification.

For the present, at least, the law is on the books with the backing of an attorney general's opinion. If upheld by the courts, it points toward the swallowing up of such wealthy districts as Clayton and Ladue by their less fortunate neighbors.

REPRESENTATIVE Meyer and Senator Schechter are not the only members of the state legislature from the county who favor school consolidation. Representatives John Grellner of Maplewood, Wayne Goode of Normandy, and others are known to support one type of consolidation or another.

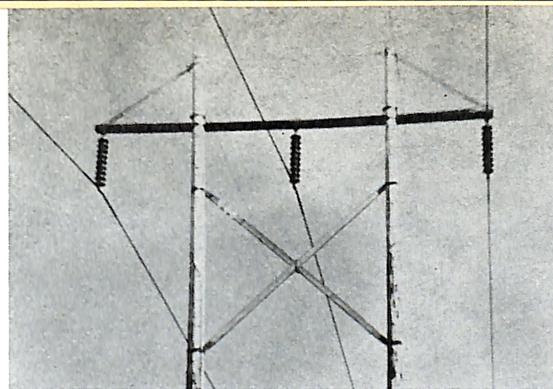
Meyer feels that a countywide school district would improve the over-all quality of education while at the same time reduce the school tax burden for a majority of residents. He believes this is possible by making the

county's tax base available to all schools, instead of permitting a few school districts to enjoy most of the tax wealth while the rest try to exist on insufficient income.

Last year St. Louis schools had an enrollment of about 116,000, and the county public schools had about 163,000. The city has one board of education of 12 members, one school superintendent, one supporting staff of administrators, and clerical help. The county has 26 boards of education with 164 members, 26 superintendents, and 26 separate office staffs. School taxes in county districts in 1964 ranged from \$2.72 in Clayton, with its wealth of commercial property, to \$4.23 in the all-Negro community of Kinloch.

A 1962 study of the county school districts by the University of Chicago told the story of how well the county districts were operating. There were 27 school districts (not counting the Special School District) at the time of the study. The study found that only seven of them had adequate property tax bases and were using them adequately. It found that two had an adequate tax base, but were not using it properly. Five districts had nearly enough tax potential and were putting more into their schools than the county average, and seven did not have an adequate tax base nor were making an adequate effort. The study said the remaining six could not possibly provide a good education no matter how hard they tried.

Two consolidations have taken place since this study. Maryland Heights and the Pattonville school districts consolidated in October 1962, and Jefferson Barracks merged with Mehlville in April 1964. Of these four districts, three were in the bottom six in the University of Chicago study. The fourth, Mehlville, was near the bottom. The picture presented by the survey, then, has changed very little.



## ELECTRIC COOPS FACE DOLLAR SQUEEZE / MOSES K. GUTHRIE

**I**N spite of the anti-consolidation atmosphere, the need for consolidation of these districts already has been admitted in several ways.

In 1957, the Special School District for the education and training of handicapped children was formed in St. Louis county. It is countywide in operation and levies taxes on a county-wide basis.

Last year St. Louis county was forced to admit there was another job which no single school district could afford to handle: the technical education of high school students. The Missouri legislature passed and the county voters approved the addition of technical high school education to the tasks to be performed by the Special School District.

Furthermore, since 1952, about 20 of the school districts in St. Louis county have conceded to one of the advantages of consolidation by voluntarily participating in wholesale purchase of supplies. Total savings achieved through this method have never been estimated. But in 1961 the Governmental Research Institute, a privately-financed survey organization, examined this purchasing program and reported that savings on duplicating paper alone were more than \$16,000 per year.

Would most taxpayers experience a tax increase or a decrease if a countywide district is formed? Residents of school districts which have comparatively low rates surely would receive an increase if consolidation occurred now, and could be expected to oppose consolidation. Taxpayers with high rates would get a decrease, and could be expected to support it. The steady increase of school taxes makes it plain that the number of districts with low rates is bound to shrink.

When a majority of county voters live in districts which could expect

**T**HE frontal assault by the commercial utilities against the rural electric cooperatives has found an imposing ally: the government. Time will tell whether the administration feels that the coops have come of age or whether it is the initial bite to appease the hungry, competitive private utilities.

If enacted, an obscure administration proposal of little interest to urban publics or politics, will impede the growth of the rural economy, rural industry, and rural home comforts. Under the proposal, the REA (Rural Electric Administration) will change their capital lending policies to rural electric cooperatives: the current lending of funds at two per cent interest will be severely curtailed.

In response, the National Association of Rural Electric Cooperatives has proposed a change in financing, the first in 22 years. It would continue the present arrangement for the economically weaker coops, establish an intermediary rate of three per cent for some, and establish a federal bank for the others. The new institution would be patterned after

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tax benefits from consolidation — or in other words, when school taxes get too high for enough people — perhaps St. Louis county will be ready to reorganize its schools.

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*Fred W. Lindecke has been with the St. Louis Post-Dispatch for the past three years. His assignments include coverage of the Missouri state legislature. Previously, he worked for seven years with United Press International in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Washington D.C.*

the farm credit system now serving agricultural enterprises. (Under the system the government provides initial capital which is gradually retired, ultimately establishing a private banking institution.)

**P**RIVATE power companies have incessantly hammered at "government support" of electrical cooperatives. Advertisements in newspapers and magazines talk of "socialistic" forms of government. The cooperatives are accused of being tax-free monsters which will devour free enterprise. For 25 years urbanites have been misled into believing that the electrical cooperative is the REA (Rural Electrification Administration) and that the government is furnishing power.

The cooperatives are no more government-owned or supported than any other business that borrows government funds and repays them. The act creating the Rural Electrification Administration was included among the social reforms enacted by the New Deal and signed into law by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936. It authorized the REA administrator to make loans for rural electrification. Nearly all public utilities refused to apply for loans to extend electric service to rural areas.

This vacuum was filled by the cooperatives. They were formed for the explicit purpose of providing electricity rather than making maximum profits. They are private, not-for-profit enterprises owned by the members they serve. They succeeded so well that the private companies have been screaming ever since. Within twelve months after the creation of the REA, five electrical coops were formed in Illinois. Today there are 27 distribution and two power-generating cooperatives.

Through the years, the commercial power companies have employed the

technique of the "big lie" and while attacking the cooperatives, glossed over their own restrictive and backward policies.

Before electricity was distributed to rural areas by the cooperatives, a farmer's chances of getting power were very slim. When he was accepted by the power company, the farmer had to pay all construction and material costs. After the circuits were energized, the installation automatically became the property of the power company.

**I**N Illinois and Missouri the coops average about three customers per mile of line. The power companies, in both the urban and rural areas they serve, average between 33 and 48 customers per mile. When the cooperatives began to furnish power to the farmer living near a city, he was possibly the only customer within half a mile or a mile. As America grew, the farmer suddenly found that he was surrounded by twelve or fifteen suburbanites. When these newcomers were connected by their only source, the electrical cooperative, the power companies began to wail. They begrimed every new retail business for the coops, although the commercial companies sold the wholesale power to the cooperatives and although this was a new market untapped and unsolicited by the utilities. If the subdivision happened to have a school or some industrial concern, the wailing was much louder and the American public was urged to rise up in wrathful indignation to save free enterprise.

In most instances, the private utilities were the wholesale suppliers, usually according to terms of a ten-year contract. When the Illinois utilities tried to impose exorbitant wholesale rates — in one instance, hiking their rates by about 50 per cent against five per cent for retail users — the Illinois cooperatives built their own plants at Pittsfield and Winchester, in 1937, and at Pearl, in 1959. Existing installations will supply the needs of the cooperatives until 1970 when present wholesale power contracts with the commercial utilities expire. What happens then is being determined by negotiations now underway.

The last session of the Illinois General Assembly passed legislation settling the territorial rights of the competing cooperative and commercial companies in the state. This bill helped to remove some of the acrimony between the parties. Under it, the companies can enter into agreements to define the areas each will serve, and it establishes procedures which determine who has the right to serve a particular customer until these agreements are reached.

The tax-free charge is, of course, only partially right. The cooperatives pay real estate and property taxes. Provided they are operated not to make a profit, federal income tax laws exempt electrical cooperatives from paying taxes on profits. There is nothing to prevent the public utilities from organizing and operating on the same basis. Yet, the cooperatives are continually harrassed by the utilities for being "tax free."

Just as many other private businesses, the cooperatives borrow from the government, in this case the REA, for the distribution of current and expansion of power lines. Their record of repayment of loans and interest is one of the best of any governmental borrower. They now pay an interest rate of 2 per cent, set in 1944 by Congress, under the condition that electric service is provided on a full area coverage basis — a service which the commercial companies were unwilling to offer. Of the \$140 million borrowed from the REA, the Illinois coops have repaid \$47 million and more than \$22 million in interest charges have been met,

**H**ow big is the cooperative threat to the commercial companies? The power companies themselves have repeatedly pointed out that 97 per cent of the total power consumption in this country is furnished by private companies, while cooperatives furnish less than three per cent and municipalities less than one per cent.

The *Illinois Business Review*, published by the University of Illinois, reports that Illinois cooperatives sold over 1 billion kilowatt hours of electricity in 1964, and bring in a revenue of nearly \$27 million. "The average cost per kwh was about 2.5 cents. The number of kwh sold to residential farm and non-farm consumers in 1964 was over 750 million, bringing in a revenue of over \$20 million, the average cost to the consumer per kwh being about 2.7 cents. In comparison, the commercial utilities sold nearly 11 billion kwh to residential and rural consumers last year at an average cost of 2.8 cents. Revenue per mile of line was about \$575 for the electrical coops and approximately \$5,000 for the commercial utilities." (Author's italics.)

The formation of an electric high voltage transmission grid in Missouri, combining the systems of the cooperatives and the commercial companies, has created a state-wide operation and minimized areas of conflict between the public and private systems. The grid draws upon all power stations and automatically compensates if one of the plants are out of operation. In rural Missouri, where the consumer density is one-tenth of that in the metropolitan areas, 46 non-profit, local cooperatives supply electricity. Twenty-four of these coops are associated as the Missouri Electric Cooperative and the others in the Associated Electric Cooperative.

The growth of the coops will demand the continuous infusion of new capital. It is surprising that Washington may now agree to modify the capital lending policies to the coops. They would have to obtain funds from private, much more expensive sources. Rural homes, agriculture, and rural industry has been revolutionized by electric power. Without it they could not have benefited from modern technology nor made their contribution to our standard of living. Throughout all of it they have embodied the ideal that service rather than profits represents the best in American life. The administration should weigh carefully whether it is in the best interest of the rural public to appease the commercial utility interests and hamper the free development of electrical cooperatives.

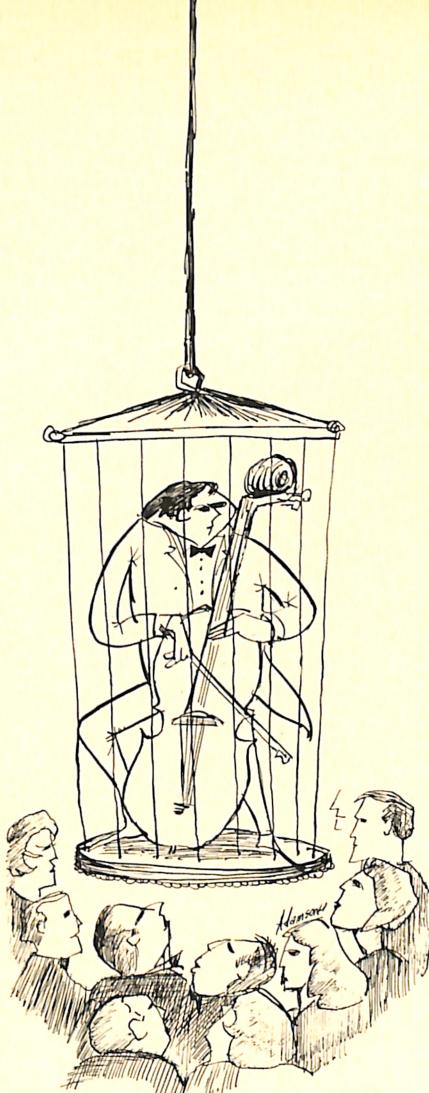
While the suggested changes already impose more expensive ways of financing expansion, two additional restrictions now before the House Agricultural Committee would further weaken the cooperatives, reports the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The proposals ". . . would set limits on the size of generation and transmission facilities that could be built with loans from the projected Bank for Rural Electric Systems. Another would make loans from the Bank contingent upon the co-ops' entering into pooling arrangements with other suppliers of electricity." These provisions, like the new financing system itself, will severely inhibit the growth of cooperatives.

Moses K. Guthrie is a pen name for a midwestern journalist who has written articles for Wallace's Farmer, Prairie Farmer, and other publications.

# Can The Gilded Cage Swing?

Mike Moore

*The Auditorium Theater was the heart of the former Auditorium Hotel, now Roosevelt University, and the center of Chicago's cultural life for more than fifty years.*



A lot of people have called the grimy old Auditorium theater in Chicago "one of the great concert halls of the world," which is a nice thing to say about any theater, especially one that has fallen upon hard times and is still in need of more than a quarter million dollars to restore its turn-of-the-century splendor.

The people on the Auditorium theater council say the problem is money, which hasn't exactly been rolling in. One reason might be that Chicago already has concert and opera halls, and maybe Chicagoans don't want another one, unless it is a brand new shiny unit of an Integrated Center for the Performing Arts.

After all, the Auditorium was designed by Dankmar Adler and Louis Sullivan and that means it is old — why it was dedicated by President Harrison in 1889, which was long before architects learned that concert halls should be built of glass, stainless steel, and plastic. It's no wonder it hasn't been used for two decades.

Still, the big C culture people stick to the notion that old-time

quality, all by itself, is reason enough to restore the Auditorium. You wonder if they've stopped to consider what really pulls in the entertainment dollar today.

Without knowing it, the Orchestral association showed the way for the Auditorium people when it recently celebrated the 75th anniversary of the Chicago Symphony right in the middle of Orchestra hall's 2,500 seats. They removed the backs of every other row of seats and replaced them with table tops so that chairs in row A became tables for row B, etc., and trimmed the Wedgwood blue hall with green felt, pink ribbons, lights, and ferns. Workmen and society women turned Orchestra hall into a night club!

The celebrants listened to dinner music supplied by the symphony, and later danced on the stage to the music of a dance band.

The party was a smash, proving at least two things — that a party where everyone pays at least \$150 can be a success, and that a concert hall can, under certain conditions, be converted into a night club. Which brings us back to the Auditorium.

Now is the time for re-evaluation, the time for big thinkers to come up with a bold Chicago style plan, namely to restore the Auditorium as a night club. But not just any old night club. Only the biggest will do, especially since the Auditorium holds more than 4,000 people, which pretty well knocks it out of the intimate bistro class.

Of course the mind boggles at the plan. Think! The first floor seats 1,700 persons and, by installing tables, as in Orchestra hall, with diners facing the stage while seated in theater chairs, there would be room for 700 or 800 diners. A supper club to be proud of.

And thanks to Dankmar Adler's theory of *isacoustics*, which meant (partly) that if a person could see the stage easily, he could hear just as easily, the first floor rises 17 feet from front to back. Good sight lines?

They couldn't be better. You could slouch as you drink, not an uncommon tendency, and still see the stage. And on the stage: only the best, the biggest, the Roger Millers, the Rolling Stones, the people with the big show. Singing, dancing, action — the *Big Beat*, swelling and crashing through the acoustically perfect hall. Go-go girls in gilded cages suspended from the gilded ceiling, flashing stroboscopic lights synced with the music, etching revelers frugging on the stage between shows.

Modern but old. And plush. Gold throughout with crimson curtains — better than anything in Old Town, or on Rush Street night-life areas or in St. Louis' Gaslight Square or Kansas City's Broadway Strip.

A hundred feet from the stage is the grand foyer, open and with an unobstructed view of the stage. Here, between brownish marble columns and flanking massive set-in fireplaces would be the bars and headquarters for cinched-in and puffed-out hostesses.

And still there's more. Some cynics are probably already putting the idea down, saying that Chicago has enough night clubs, that the idea of the really big club is uneconomical, unrealistic, and dead. All of which has some truth in it. But the Auditorium A-Go-Go would have something going for it that other big clubs don't have — a paying balcony and two suspended galleries.

When was the last time you went to a big expensive night club to see the show? Have you ever gone to one? My wife and I went to the bunny hutch once, but only when someone else picked up the tab.

But how many night club shows would you have gone to if they had been presented in concert form — at less than concert prices? For, say, \$2 for the balcony, \$1.50 for the first gallery, and \$1 for the second gallery, you could pack the balcony and galleries for a really big show and have \$3,500 to play with even before you'd have to worry about the

main floor with its \$5 cover and \$1.25 drinks.

With that kind of money, who needs to worry about fund raising?

To be sure, Auditorium supporters may contend that when Dankmar Adler and Louis Sullivan put their hall together, they were concerned with *quality* and *perfect acoustics*. For people who think this way, turning the Auditorium into a night club may not seem to be the proper thing to do.

But again, Orchestra hall shows the way. On a Friday night, Orchestra hall was a concert hall; Saturday night it was a night club, and Sunday morning it was again a concert hall, waiting the first arrivals for a morning church service.

It was just a matter of replacing the table tops with the chair backs. In the case of the Auditorium, they would also have to unhitch the go-go cages and partition off the bars. And since the big drinking nights are Friday and Saturday, the big C culture people could have the hall Sunday through Thursday.

And, of course, for a good part of the year — say from the first of July through the last of August, when the conventioneers leave — they could have the Auditorium all to themselves.

Alas, since these words were written the Chicago gossip columns have bubbled with rumors that Borden Stevenson, son of the late Adlai, is going to turn the old Aragon Ballroom into the Chicago branch of his New York go-go club, the Cheetah.

Now the Aragon is very ornate and about the size of a small football stadium (it is generally conceded to be the largest ballroom in the world) which means the Chicago market for giant, ornate go-go clubs may be slightly, ah, gone-gone.

But even if we do have the Aragon-Cheetah-A-Go-Go, I would advise Auditorium-A-Go-Go promoters not to lose heart. If they turn the Auditorium into a Big Beat club, and the crowds don't come, it can always be turned into a full-time concert hall, and at least some of the investment recuped.

Mike Moore worked three years for the Kansas City Star as a reporter-photographer and two years for the Chicago Daily News. He is now an assistant editor of the Chicago Tribune's Sunday Magazine.

## Political Intelligence

ONE of the lesser known aspects of independent Abner Mikva's primary challenge to win the seat of Congressman Barratt O'Hara, a regular Democrat in Chicago, was the intense pressure on Adlai E. Stevenson III to withdraw his endorsement of Mikva.

Stevenson, the Democratic nominee for state treasurer, ran on the regular Democratic ticket. But that's about all that was regular about him. While Governor Kerner and Mayor Daley endorsed a new, ill conceived, and ill drawn amendment to the Illinois Revenue Article, Stevenson along with many other civic and liberal groups opposes it. While the regular ticket endorsed O'Hara, Stevenson was one of the original backers of Mikva.

Mayor Daley had his doubts about the wisdom of such independence. After the slatemakers had met and endorsed O'Hara, the Mayor invited Stevenson to switch allegiances, hinting that otherwise he may not get the endorsement for state treasurer. "Mr. Mayor," said Stevenson, "you only want me on the ticket because you want the backing of the liberal community." If he would switch now, he wouldn't be any good to the ticket and not to himself. Mikva was one of his best friends and one of the best men to run for office.

Except for Stevenson, we cannot think of any other man on the regular Democratic ticket who can stand up to Mayor Daley and have his way.

Of course, the Mayor doesn't give up so easily. Throughout the campaign, Marshall Korshak, state revenue director and the chieftain of the O'Hara campaign, and James Ronan, chairman of the state central committee, kept up the pressure. Even the *Chicago Tribune* chimed in, reporting that Stevenson would like to withdraw his endorsement of Mikva if he just had the opportunity. After every *Tribune* story, Stevenson showed up at another parlour meeting for Mikva.

Articulate, independent, and a Stevenson. Lucky Illinois.

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